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With the author's compliments

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NATIONAL UNIVERSITY PROPOSITION.

FEBRUARY 28, 1899.—Ordered to be printed.

Mr. CULLOM presented the following

MEMORIAL OF W. C. PENNWITT, OF GLENCARLYN, VA., RESPECTFULLY OFFERING THE FOLLOWING SUGGESTIONS:

1. THE RESTORATION TO NATIONAL JURISDICTION OF THAT PORTION OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA (10 MILES SQUARE) WHICH LIES SOUTH OF THE POTOMAC RIVER;
2. THE FOUNDING OF A CITY UPON SUCH REACQUIRED TERRITORY, TO BE DEDICATED TO THE CAUSE OF LEARNING AND TO BE KNOWN AS THE CITY OF LINCOLN; AND
3. THE ESTABLISHMENT WITHIN SUCH CITY OF A GREAT NATIONAL UNIVERSITY, TO BE KNOWN AS THE UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON AND LINCOLN.

To the Congress of the United States:

Interest in the proposed establishment, under national auspices, of a great American university has been apparently growing of late and spreading in a manner that gives fair promise of tangible results at no distant day. Although opposition to the enterprise had been both active and obstinate, though a spirit of indifference had prevailed generally throughout the country, yet until temporarily overshadowed by the "war question" the sentiment in favor of this measure had become perceptibly stronger and decidedly more aggressive. Its friends were seemingly more numerous; without question they had become more hopeful and more determined than ever before. Preparations had been made for a vigorous campaign. New associations in aid of the movement had been formed and the older organizations had become inspired with new courage. Many patriotic societies had taken commendatory action in the premises. Congresses of scientists, reunions of literary folk, teachers' institutes, and educational conventions everywhere had openly given aid and comfort to the cause. The attitude of the press was, in the main, friendly and helpful. And last, though far from least, the patriotic ladies of the land had taken hold of the matter with an earnestness that presaged eventual success.

In brief, some real progress had been made, and the situation was, in a general way, highly encouraging to the promoters of the scheme, their coadjutors and well-wishers. Assuredly the hour was at hand when a forward movement all along the line might have been safely inaugurated and successfully executed. And now that "grim-visaged war hath smoothed his wrinkled front," now that "dove-eyed peace" has resumed her wonted sway over the whole of our fair land, the conditions so favorable to the prospects of the university project will most certainly present themselves afresh, reenforced by new conditions arising out of our changed relations with the world at large. Thus we may

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expect the work to go on with greater zeal and with more confirmed purposes than heretofore. The movement is, beyond question, much stronger to-day than at any previous period in its history.

It must be admitted, however, in candor that this pregnant situation relates wholly and exclusively to the proposition in its barest outline, and absolutely without reference to any particular or specific plan of operation or of organization. The enterprise appears to be metaphorically, if not literally, "in the air." It has not begun to materialize. It is represented by no building, by no stone dug from the quarry, by no stick of timber cut from the forest. No doubt it has been wisely politic to refrain altogether from attempting to decide questions of detail until the broader and more catholic aspects of the general proposition had been carefully studied. However, the time has come for getting down to solid earth. To maintain simply the present status is not now desirable, and if it were a thing to be desired it is no longer possible. That which has life can not be kept indefinitely in an embryonic or chrysalis state. When the proper time comes it must assume definite form, otherwise it must perish. It must either grow or decay. Where evolution stops there dissolution begins. In the matter of the proposed university there must be either an advance or a retreat, either a victory or a surrender.

The question which, above all others relating to the university movement, merits and demands immediate and painstaking consideration, which dwarfs and obscures all others, and which must be settled definitely and authoritatively before any other question may, with either propriety or advantage, be considered at all, is the question of the magnitude and scope of the proposed institution. What is to be its grade, its range, its sphere, its position relative to other universities of the highest r nk at home and abroad?

At the annual meeting of the National Council of Education, held in Washington last summer, a committee, composed of some of the most eminent men of the educational profession in this country, was appointed to make a thorough investigation respecting the national university scheme and to report upon the following questions: (1) Whether a university under national auspices should be established; and, if so, (2) what should be its scope and the form of its organization? To your memoralist it seems clear that the order of these interrogatories should be reversed, that the latter inquiry must be answered specifically before the former may be intelligently discussed at all. Whether the establishment of a national university be advisable depends wholly upon the character and scope of the proposed undertaking. If it is to be merely an addition of one to the number of the world's great institutions of learning, it should never be established at all. This university must be something more than now exists, or that is likely otherwise to be, else it has no excuse for coming into being at all. A higher excellence than is possible elsewhere, or under other circumstances, must be its sole raison d'être. It must bear to other universities of the highest type, American and European, the relation that those institutions bear to colleges and that colleges bear to high schools and academies. It must be, in the broadest and highest sense, a university of universities.

The University of Berlin, established less than ninety years ago, has, it is unanimously conceded, already attained higher rank than any other educational institution of the present or any past age. A recent very able paper on "The urgent need of a national university," from the pen of President David Starr Jordan, of Leland Stanford Junior University, begins with the broad and striking assertion that "the most

important event in the history of modern Germany has been the foundation of the University of Berlin." This is a bold statement, but no one has thus far been bold enough to challenge it. To rival that great institution would be indeed a most noble aspiration; yet I dare assert that if the promoters of the University of the United States have not an ideal vastly higher than even Berlin, then have they failed utterly to comprehend the true field and mission of that institution that shall be worthy to bear the stamp and title of the great nation that Washington founded and Lincoln made eternal.

The world does not now and never did contain a model for a university representing the principles that underlie government of, for, and by the people. The distinctive basic principle that supports the entire fabric of free government in our beloved Republic is that upon which should rest also the foundations of our national university. The American concept of the "greatness of man," the more than kingliness of the individual citizen, should permeate the entire structure of our greatest educational establishment more completely even than it has dominated our political institutions. In a recent lecture on "The principle of American citizenship," Rev. D. J. Stafford, of St. Patrick's Catholic Church, in Washington, gave eloquent expression to this idea in the following words:

> The foundation of this Government was man in his racial unity, in his dignity as man. Historians look in vain for any trail of such an ideal in the past. It is not in the philosophy of Plato; not in the legislation of Lycurgus; not in the oratory of Cicero, nor in the poetry of Virgil. Even Athens, from whom we get the word "democracy," did not attain to this ideal.

During the infancy of our now mighty nation circumstances conspired to prevent action upon the university proposition, and it is an open question whether this long postponement of the realization of "Washington's dream" is a matter for condolement or for congratulation. Had the attempt been made to establish a national university while the new-born Republic was weak and almost friendless, eyed askance by all other members of the family of nations, while the people were impoverished, inexperienced, and distrustful of their own capabilities, while self-government was itself a mere experiment, the results would, in all probability, have been thoroughly disappointing. But now that the period of robust youth has been reached, when the nation "rejoiceth as a strong man to run a race;" now that we have achieved distinction as the most enterprising, resourceful, and progressive people on earth; now that we have become powerful and have accumulated wealth that a century ago would have appeared fabulous, there can be no uncertainty whatever as to the outcome of the undertaking, provided the foundations of our great university be laid sufficiently broad and deep.

It is scarcely necessary to suggest that the vast enterprise now in contemplation should be so planned, ordered, and arranged that it will be capable of subserving the educational needs of the future, not merely to meet the requirements of the present hour. It should go without saying that we ought to build, if we build at all, not merely for ourselves and our children, but for generations yet unborn. And this is indeed saying a great deal. The educational necessities of the present are immense; those of even the immediate future are stupendous. Who is there bold enough to attempt to forecast the intellectual and educational demands of a single future century? At the world's present rate of development what will the twentieth century bring forth? Judging from the recent past and by the present—for these are the only bases

for prediction—the most conservative promises of the future appear like the wildest dreams of a disordered brain. The intellectual advance made during the century now about to close equals that of many prior centuries, and the latter portion of the nineteenth century has been more prolific of great achievements than any previous period in the history of the human race. No less eminent an authority than Gladstone is credited with having said that "the last fifty years have produced greater results than all previous time back to the creation."

Despite the enchanting effect produced by distance we realize that we live in an era of unusual mental activity. The rate of human progress has increased according to a geometrical series. The marvelous nervous energy, which is the peculiar characteristic of modern man, aided by the existing momentum, makes it certain that the human race is now entering upon an era of intellectual activity such as was never before possible. With every step upward man finds his horizon vastly enlarged. With every extension of the field of vision he becomes farther and keener sighted. The man of to-day is better equipped than his ancestors, and has every advantage over the pioneers on the highway of progress. He is, as never was the earlier man, absolute master of the situation.

Between the censuses of 1800 and 1900 the population of the United States, exclusive of the territory recently acquired, will have increased from something upward of five millions to about seventy-five millions; that is to say, at least fourteen-fold. If, during the next hundred years, there should be an increase of but sevenfold (or half the previous rate), the number of inhabitants to be enumerated in the census of the year 2000 will be not less than five hundred million souls. Indeed, the eminent authority just quoted, the "grand old man" of England, predicted that we would reach the 500,000,000 mark ten years before the close of the twentieth century, and he added:

> The United States has the natural base of the greatest continuous empire ever established by man.

The per capita wealth of this country increased during the short period from 1850 to 1890 more than 200 per cent, and is at the present time considerably upward of $1,000. Should the increase be only 100 per cent during the next century (100 per cent in one hundred years instead of 200 per cent in the previous forty-years period—only one-fifth of the former rate), so as to amount to $2,000 for each inhabitant, the aggregate wealth of the people of the United States at the close of the twentieth century will have reached the enormous and almost inconceivable sum of $1,000,000,000,000.

The history of modern invention and scientific discovery, which is simply the account of man's increasing knowledge and control of the forces of nature, is truly a more wonderful story than any ancient fairy tale, but it is a serial of which only a few of the opening chapters have been yet written. The efficiency of human effort has been recently developed in a most marvelous fashion. In some branches of industry, it is said, one man's labor now produces results that a hundred years ago required the toil of a hundred men. Truly the skillful hand of the modern artisan, aided by the fertile brain of the modern investigator, has wrought greater wonders than were ever produced by the touch of the magician's wand. And the end is not yet. The door leading to nature's storehouse of wonders is only slightly ajar. Man is now timidly setting foot upon that mysterious threshold. Soon he will boldly enter and take possession. Nature's "stubborn secrets" will be remorselessly wrested from her by the all-conquering master. To

indulge in speculation concerning the inventions and scientific discoveries of the future would be idle folly, but there is one prediction that may be freely and safely made, this namely, that in every department of human knowledge, in every field of investigation, the twentieth century will surpass the nineteenth, even as the latter has excelled all previous periods of time.

Thus far we have been confining our retrospect to the century just closing and our prospect to the century upon which we are about to enter. There is no reason, however, why we should limit the view in either direction to so short a period. All true Americans are unwavering in their faith in the "manifest destiny" of our Republic, the first genuine republic upon which the sun ever shed its life-giving rays of light. As one man, we believe it to be the destiny of our glorious nation to endure "a thousand years." And while the Republic endures and leads the van of civilization the mission of our university will not come to its close. It has been said concerning the establishment of a national university that "by this means we shall create the best guarantee of the perpetuity of our Republic." With such a spirit and with such a faith as these words express animating the friends of this movement, no plan or suggestion can be entertained at all that does not contemplate and insure the predominance of the proposed institution over all other educational establishments throughout the entire world for many centuries to come. This university that we are about to establish must therefore contain within itself the power to constantly renew the vitality of its youth, in order that it may never become superannuated or effete. It must be invested with unlimited capacity for functional development in order that it may be able to meet all possible demands upon its resources.

Without attempting to forecast human intellectual progress for so long a period as a thousand years, it may not be entirely unprofitable, in preparing for the future, to glance backward, even into the distant and obscure past. A thousand years backward takes us to the very midnight of the so-called "Dark Ages." It is a fact worthy of note, however, that about that time the turning point of human destiny was reached. About that time the germs of the new civilization began to give evidence of vitality. It is also worthy of mention that the world appears to move in cycles of about five hundred years. It was not until some five centuries later—that is to say, some five hundred years ago—that those germs began to yield ripe fruit. Then there occurred one of the most notable crises in history, an epoch of such unusual significance that it became known as the "Rebirth" (la renaissance). That remarkable awakening, aptly described as "a comprehensive movement of the European intellect and will toward self-emancipation," marks the beginning of an era of intellectual and moral activity such as was never before known among men, an activity that has never waxed faint, but has become more and more intense down to the present day.

Among the many remarkable features of the period or cycle that has since elapsed, commonly known as "modern history," and constituting the most memorable era in all history, may be mentioned such noteworthy events as the revival of learning, the Reformation, the invention of the printing press, the discovery of the new world, the evolution of the steam engine, the American revolution, the ascendancy of the principles of self-government, and popular education, which last is the culminating fact of the period as a whole. And let it not be forgotten that popular education is wholly the product of the present century, not fully realized even in this country until within the present

half-century. What more fitting climax to this first cycle of modern civilization, what more fitting introduction to the coming or second cycle, than the founding of a colossal institute of learning on the soil of the freest nation on earth, designed and destined to be at once an exhaustless repository of the erudition of the past and an overflowing wellspring of inspiration to truth seekers of the future? The present is not the noonday, but simply the full sunrise (as the renaissance was the dawn) of man's intellectual career on this planet. "Our life," said Emerson, "is an apprenticeship to the truth that around every circle another circle may be drawn; that there is no end in nature, but every end is a beginning; that there is always another dawn risen on midnoon, and under every deep a lower deep opens."

The message of the past to us is truly "the voice of one crying in the wilderness," but it is the voice of a prophet telling us what may be expected of man as man in the future. If the events of the next ensuing five centuries shall, as they certainly will, surpass, or simply equal, those of the last five hundred years, how can it be possible to form a reasonable conception of the intellectual stature and educational requirements of the human race at the close of that period? It is, then, clearly impossible to build the foundations of our national university too broad for future necessities. There is absolutely no risk of unnecessary comprehensiveness in the ground plan, but there is serious danger of falling into the opposite error. Let us, then, provide unlimited opportunities for development and expansion, in order that our great university may not fall short or be presently outgrown and inadequate to the needs of coming generations. It is impossible to erect a standard too high for future requirements.

The characteristics of the American people should be taken into the account and treated as factors of great value in the problem the solution of which we are about to attempt. The vastness of an undertaking never appalls or discourages them; indeed, it usually has the contrary effect, quickening their energies and arousing within them a sublime enthusiasm that makes great difficulties appear trivial. The proverbial American pluck and persistency enable them to overcome obstacles that, to a less intrepid people, would seem insurmountable. If, therefore, there is to be a national university at all in this country, they will insist upon its being the most complete in all its appointments, the most thorough in all its operations, the most efficient, the most progressive, the greatest and most magnificent institution of learning on the face of the whole globe. Self-respecting, patriotic Americans are not pleased with the circumstance that their great country, of which they are so proud, should take inferior rank in a matter of such extreme importance as higher education. Our public-school system has already raised the general educational level of the United States above that of any other nation. We are now in position to assume the same unchallengeable leadership upon the higher planes.

Mulhall, the most eminent statistician of the present century (not himself an American, therefore free from bias in our favor), has said of us:

> If we take a survey of mankind in ancient and modern times, as regards the physical, mechanical, and intellectual force of nations, we find nothing to compare with the United States in this present year of 1895. The physical and mechanical power which has enabled a community of woodcutters and farmers to become in less than one hundred years the greatest nation in the world, is the aggregate of the strong arms of men and women, aided by horse power, machinery, and steam power, applied to the useful arts and sciences of everyday life.

A nation whose material development and inventive genius have been the wonder, admiration, and envy of the whole world, is not likely to be long in attaining the foremost position in science, art, philosophy, or literature. Heretofore our energies have been expended mainly in securing ascendency over the rest of the world in inventions, manufactures, and commerce. We have been busy subduing the earth and mastering the physical forces of the universe. Now, like Alexander, we are looking about us for other worlds to conquer; but, unlike the famous Macedonian chieftain, we have little taste for conquest by force of arms. Our greatest victories, we hope, will be peaceful contests, that may prove even more beneficial to the vanquished than to ourselves.

Our history has been in many respects unique. We have never in anything copied either the methods or the institutions of the Old World. When the American people shall set about to establish a university designed to be national in its character, it will of necessity be a new creation; not simply another and greater Oxford, or Paris, or Harvard, or Berlin. Our undertakings hereafter, as heretofore, and more hereafter than heretofore, must be on a gigantic scale. There was a time when the people of Europe suspected and accused Americans of being boasters and braggarts. It is not now necessary to inquire whether there ever existed grounds for such an opinion of us, for there has evidently been some revision of their judgment. The following quotation is from an article that appeared in Der Frankfurter Zeitung of August 20, 1898. It should be borne in mind while reading this quotation that it is from one of the leading journals of that nation, which proudly boasts the greatest university that ever existed—that nation to which we are annually sending thousands of our young men and maidens to receive "finished educations." The article ran thus:

> With what force and energy the Union enters upon its rightful position among the controlling nations of the world will be shown by a glance at its material resources and productive capacity. [Here follows a formidable statistical array.] These figures, to which might be added others equally significant, will suffice to show that the people of the United States, in respect to their resources and capacity of performance, can no longer be compared with any other single nation; the comparison must be made with the entire rest of the world. * * * The American national character wins when compared with that of any other nation; and it must be remembered that in the frankness and intelligence of this national character, its tireless energy and its ardor for improvement, are given the conditions and the strength which modify even the defects of the people and shield them from the dangers of degeneration. Labor, freedom, tolerance—these are the foundations upon which American manhood rests, and upon which it can securely rest in the future. * * * We are not concerned with the outward form, but with the substance—the independent, self-reliant citizenship, the respect for honest labor, the tolerance of free thought and action, the generous, unprejudiced humanity of thought, feeling, and deed. * * * For these reasons it can be fairly said that the victory of the United States is a triumph for progress and a gain for mankind.

If there be any timid, nerveless American who doubts our ability to found and maintain a university vastly greater in every respect than Berlin, or any other institution of ancient or modern times, let him read these words over and over until he realizes that he needs more iron in his blood. He will do well to bear always in mind the words attributed to the present Chief Executive of our nation: "It is better to be a patriot than a pessimist."

Only second, and scarcely second, in importance to the question of the magnitude and scope of the proposed university is the question of its environment. Incongruous or inappropriate surroundings may not be in all cases fatal to the renown or usefulness of a great university, but always the beneficial effects of wholesome influences and of a pure,

bracing, intellectual, and moral atmosphere are essential to its attainment of the highest possible efficiency. It is undoubtedly true that an institution such as is hereinafter described would exert an influence that would more than counterbalance the evils of even the most objectionable surroundings; that it would be able, in a measure, to create its own atmosphere. Nevertheless, the full vigor of such an establishment should be conserved for legitimate educational employment. Its energies should not be dissipated in fighting pernicious influences that might be easily avoided.

By many careful observers it has been held that proximity to any great city, particularly to a commercial or manufacturing city, is necessarily detrimental to the interests and operations of any educational institution. This view is doubtless correct in the cases of schools attended by pupils of tender age and pliant character; but it is true to a less extent, if it be true at all, of institutions whose students are more mature in years and in judgment. Indeed, for proper university work extensive libraries, well-stocked museums, courts of justice of the highest authority, galleries of art, and the like, are indispensable; and these are to be found only in great cities. For all that, however, it would be a positive disadvantage, especially to an establishment of the very highest rank, to be overshadowed in its own immediate locality by other interests, however respectable they might be. In its own proper vicinage it should be, by all means, the predominating and sovereign influence. Within its legitimate sphere as a university it should be the paramount fact, giving its own hue and tone to everything and to every circumstance. The ideal arrangement would, therefore, seem to be an educational metropolis; that is to say, a university city, containing at least one high-class university and perhaps numerous colleges and preparatory schools. The principal business of such a city should be educational work; there should be no competing interests there. All else should be secondary and subservient to educational purposes.

It was the opinion of Washington that "the Federal city * * * ought to be preferred as a proper site for such a university," and this suggestion has met with general approbation. The reciprocity of Government and university interests, benefits, and duties is manifest. The political capital of the Republic and its educational metropolis ought always to be in close touch and hearty cooperation. But the alliance should never degenerate into mere servility on the part of either. Each should, in its own proper field of operations, be thoroughly independent; outside of that field it should be intensely loyal. The university could not, of course, be permitted to usurp political functions. On the other hand, it should not be subjected to political caprice or partisan expediency. For instance, if the chief official of the university were, by virtue of his position, made a member of the President's Cabinet, as has been suggested, to be appointed by the Chief Executive and removable at his pleasure, the effect might be mischievous in the extreme, as well to the Government as to the university.

In like manner, if the latter were dependent for its main pecuniary support upon annual appropriations made by Congress, the result would be disastrous to the university. Neither an individual nor an institution can avoid some degree of subserviency to the hand that supplies the essentials of his or its existence. In times of great political excitement, if the university were wholly dependent upon Congressional favor, there would be, at least, serious danger of its being forced or drawn into some sort of coalition with one party or the other.

That would be a calamity indeed which should be made impossible. It were better that the establishment of our great university should be further delayed, even postponed indefinitely, aye, abandoned altogether, than that it should proceed without adequate provision against such misfortunes as these.

During his incumbency of the Presidential office Washington set apart or "appropriated" from lands deeded to the Government "for public uses" a certain tract of ground within the limits of the capital city, comprising somewhat more than 19 acres, "for the site of a national university." This tract, commonly known as "University Square," was until recently occupied by the United States Naval Observatory. Doubtless this little piece of land was, a hundred years ago, considered ample for the purposes of a university such as was then in contemplation. Now it is altogether inadequate to the purposes of a single branch of scientific investigation—astronomy. For such an institution as is hereinafter suggested it would be utterly insignificant. Possibly the circumstance that the plans heretofore presented have all contemplated the utilization of this piece of ground as the seat of the proposed university may in part explain the failure of the movement to command the necessary support. Even before the first brick is laid the institution suffers for lack of room. The location is not suggestive of comprehensiveness, of magnificence, of free and healthy development. It is suggestive of circumscribing boundaries, of limitations, of restraint. The selection of such a site for our national university would be, to say the very least, an irreparable blunder.

It may not be amiss to note that the situation was formerly considered unhealthy, and that many of the surroundings are decidedly objectionable. For instance, a brewery has been located on adjoining ground, occupying imposing buildings of many stories.

The Constitution of the United States confers upon Congress certain powers, among which is the power "to exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever over such district (not exceeding 10 miles square) as may, by cession of particular States and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of the Government of the United States," etc. The State of Maryland by acts of December 23, 1788, and December 19, 1789, and the Commonwealth of Virginia by an act of December 3, 1789, ceded to the United States, for the purposes set forth in the Constitution, certain territory, 10 miles square, lying on the Potomac River, about two-thirds of which was given by Maryland. Congress, by acts of July 16, 1790, and March 3, 1791, completed the transaction by formally assuming jurisdiction over the entire territory. President Washington, by proclamation of March 30, 1791, declared the said district, 10 miles square, to be "the permanent seat of the Government of the United States." This territory was afterwards by law designated "The District of Columbia." That portion taken from Maryland, and lying north of the Potomac River, became known as "Washington County." The portion taken from Virginia, lying south of the Potomac, was called "Alexandria County."

President Washington, in a letter to Thomas Jefferson dated March 15, 1795, again expressed for the site selected for the nation's capital "a preference over all other places for the institution" (meaning the national university), "for the following reasons: * * * Thirdly, because one-half (or near it) of the District of Columbia is within the Commonwealth of Virginia," his own native State and his home, as well as the source from which he received the stock which he afterwards bequeathed "toward the endowment of a university to be established

in the District of Columbia under the auspices of the General Government."

Mention should here be made of a certain proceeding which has an important bearing upon the subject-matter of this memorial. By an act of July 19, 1846, Congress attempted to divest itself of jurisdiction over that portion of the District of Columbia lying south of the Potomac River (Alexandria County) by relinquishing the same to the Commonwealth of Virginia. Many eminent members of the legal profession have held that the so-called retrocession act was in clear violation of the Constitution of the United States. The validity of the measure has never yet been decided by the Supreme Court of the United States, but it is by many confidently believed that in the event of an action being properly brought a decision would be very promptly rendered declaring the act void. An attempt was made to test the validity of the retrocession through an action brought by a taxpayer who sought to recover taxes collected from him by Virginia officials (Phillips *v.* Payne, 92 U. S. Reports, 649), but the Supreme Court refused to consider the question of the constitutionality of the act of retrocession in an action brought by an individual, holding that the power to levy and collect taxes belonged to the de facto government, and that the question of the validity of the retrocession could not be raised except by one of the parties in interest; that is to say, either by the United States or by the State of Virginia.

Up to this time nothing has occurred to make the possession of the jurisdiction over this territory especially desirable or of interest to the General Government. For more than half a century the State of Virginia has exercised as complete dominion over Alexandria County as over any other portion of its domain, and the question of the validity of the retrocession remains open. There is, however, no probable necessity for a resort to litigation in regard to the matter in any event. If the United States shall ever have use for additional territory at the seat of Government the Commonwealth of Virginia stands ready and willing, as in 1791, to supply its wants. Senator Martin, of that State, in an interview published a year or two since uttered what is doubtless the prevailing sentiment among his constituents, as follows:

> If the Government needs more territory, I have no doubt that Virginia will promptly respond to that need. * * * But an effort to have Virginia cede land to be added to the District of Columbia should be preceded by a showing of the Government's need for more territory.

The purpose and aim of the so-called retrocession (never matters of any considerable significance) were long ago accomplished. The end then sought was entirely foreign to the subject now under consideration, and whether in itself good or bad is not here a matter of the slightest consequence. However, that very proceeding, unconstitutional and invalid though it may have been, will probably yet produce results of incomparable importance to the Republic. The retrocession should be considered a fortunate accident. Had Alexandria County remained under national jurisdiction and control it would have shared in the remarkable development that has within the last quarter century come to the District of Columbia. Had it not been severed from the original District, the seat of Government, it would now contain a much larger population; it would be now well built up and improved by permanent and costly structures. Any reconstruction or remodeling that might be found desirable would under such circumstances necessarily prove difficult and expensive. The most noticeable result of the retrocession

has been the exclusion of this section from the prosperity that has visited the nation's capital.

As compared with Washington, the city of Alexandria has stood still. The same may be said of Alexandria County in comparison with Washington County. The backward condition of affairs on the south side of the Potomac as compared with affairs on the north bank becomes remarkable when it is shown that the health conditions existing in the former sections are in every way superior to those in the city of Washington. The average elevation of the land on which Washington stands is perhaps 40 feet above mean tide, while the average elevation of Arlington and Washington districts in Alexandria County, lying directly opposite the capital city, is nearly, if not altogther, 300 feet.

In 1890 the population of Alexandria County, outside of the city of Alexandria, was 4,258. Since the last census there has been no unusual influx of population, and the inhabitants of this delightful suburban locality, exclusive of the military garrison at Fort Myer, do not probably number, at the present time, as many as 5,000. Although lying within gunshot distance of the Executive Mansion, the business office and residence of the President of one of the most powerful and affluent nations on earth, this section boasts a population not exceeding 160 to the square mile. Although in immediate proximity to the capital city of the nation, it contains not a single village of 500 souls. Topographically beautiful, with scarcely a rood of its surface unsuitable for building purposes, a large proportion of its area being within plain view of the Capitol, the great Library building, the Monument, the White House, and other immense structures of granite and marble costing millions upon millions of dollars, there are to be found here scarcely two score buildings made of any substance more durable than wood.

It is a fact of obvious significance that, for all the purposes of improvement of any kind whatsoever, under the conditions now existing in Alexandria County, all the territory here described lying outside of the city of Alexandria may be regarded as virgin soil on which substantially nothing has been built up that is too valuable to be torn down. Construction would not here necessitate precedent destruction. If it were necessary to raze to the ground every building of every description, and to destroy or remove everything of value from the entire section, all this would signify less, as a matter of expense, than the widening of a single street in New York or Chicago, in London or Paris. The actual effect, therefore, of the attempted retrocession has been to set apart, or reserve, for university purposes, about one-third of the area of the District of Columbia. This result could have been accomplished so effectually by no other means. The nation should be thankful that the Twenty-ninth Congress was nearsighted.

Alexandria County covers an area of about 34 square miles. Its political subdivisions are (1) Alexandria City, at the extreme southerly point; (2) Jefferson district, adjoining the city of Alexandria and lying partly, not wholly, on the low ground south of the southern end of Long Bridge; (3) Arlington district, directly opposite the city of Washington, embracing the historical Arlington estate on which are located the great National Cemetery and the military post of Fort Meyer; and (4) Washington district, which occupies the upper or northern section of the county. All of Arlington and Washington districts and a considerable part of Jefferson district are located on high and perfectly drained ground, the elevation varying from sea level to 425 feet above mean tide. Except a narrow strip along the river front, Arlington dis-

trict lies on a plateau at an average elevation of 260 feet, or thereabouts. The site of the old Arlington mansion is about 200 feet above tide. The contour of Washington district is somewhat more broken, the average elevation being considerably greater. Steep bluffs rise abruptly from the river's edge. This district furnishes many remarkably fine views of the city of Washington and of the surrounding country in all directions.

The purpose of this memorial stands now so fully disclosed as to need but little further elaboration. The present status of the university movement is quite satisfactory, and the time seems to be ripe for effective action. Your memorialist indulges a hope that the suggestions herein contained will prove timely and opportune. They are offered boldly and without apology, because of the entire absence of the element of selfishness in his motives. He has no interest in the project that he does not share with all Americans who desire the ascendency of the principles of "triumphant democracy" throughout the whole world, and the development of the highest types of American manhood and womanhood.

The several steps in the proceedings from this time forward seem to arrange themselves logically and naturally in the following order:

First. Action should be taken at the earliest possible moment looking to the resumption by Congress of its constitutional prerogative to exercise exclusive legislative power over that portion of the original District of Columbia (10 miles square) which lies south of the Potomac River. Three methods of attaining this object are at hand: (1) Through an act of cession from the Commonwealth of Virginia and acceptance by Congress, as in the first instance; (2) by a joint resolution of Congress directing the Attorney-General to institute proceedings in the United States Supreme Court asking to have the act of July 19, 1846, commonly known as the retrocession act, interpreted; and (3) by an act of Congress repealing the act of 1846 and providing for the resumption of Federal jurisdiction over the territory in question. The first-named method is to be preferred, mainly because thereby no antagonisms would be engendered, and because, if found advisable, the city of Alexandria could thereby be allowed to remain a part of the State of Virginia. The parallel of 38° 50′ 30″ north latitude, or thereabouts, would mark a convenient and appropriate division line. The territory south of such a line would not be needed for the purposes herein contemplated.

Second. Provision should be made for founding upon the reacquired territory a city, a companion to the capital city of the nation, to be the seat of a great national university, the educational metropolis of the great Republic, the home of learning, a Mecca, a Mount Olympus, for the scholars, the thinkers, the artists, the philosophers of the whole world. With our present knowledge of topographical, mechanical, architectural, and sanitary science, and with the boundless wealth of opportunity afforded by this unrivaled location we may, if we will, have here the best equipped, the most healthful, the most symmetrical, the most beautiful, and attractive city ever built by man or ever conceived by the human mind; the model city of the planet we inhabit, in which utility and elegance shall each wait upon and exalt the other; the great court city of the only genuine aristocracy on earth—that of intellect and culture.

Third. In the midst of this beautiful city our great university of universities should be located, "the crown and culmination of our American system of education," an establishment of higher rank, of

wider range, of broader base, and of deeper integrity than any other institution of learning ever founded on earth. An eligible site, accessible, convenient, incomparable from every point of view, will be found in the vicinity of Carne's School House, on the highest point of ground in the county. Here the view of the city of Washington, with its many domes, and spires, and massive public buildings, is simply enchanting and grand beyond description. A considerable tract, amply sufficient for lecture halls, laboratories, conservatories, observatories, libraries, gymnasiums, and other structures essential to university work, and for such parks, drives, walks, etc., as may be found desirable in the environs of such an institution, is here available. The situation is admirably adapted to the needs of a great university, and its beauty must be seen to be appreciated.

Subsidiary to these chief ends, and necessary to the complete success of the plan herein outlined, certain other measures should be adopted as follows:

Fourth. Provision should be made by Congressional enactment for acquiring title to all the land within the limits of the proposed city, not already owned by the Government. The area embraced within the territory north of parallel 38° 50′ 30″ is about 30 square miles. The Arlington estate is now the property of the United States, and covers almost two square miles. It would be necessary, therefore, to acquire, by purchase or through condemnation proceedings, title to about 18,000 acres of land. The aggregate cost of such acquisition would be somewhat less than the amount of Washington's bequest to the university, including interest to the present time; or, if a somewhat hackneyed illustration may be pardoned, about the cost of one battle ship. After the most generous allotments (say 60 per cent of the whole) for streets, alleys, avenues, parks, and other public uses, there would remain more than 300,000,000 feet of ground available for residence purposes.

The immediate effect of the establishment of the university and the founding of the city would be an enormous increase in the value of this ground. Inasmuch as this enhancement of values would be caused wholly and directly by these institutions, the entire and immediate benefit thereof should inure to the university and the city. No other interest could sustain any claim, or shadow of claim, to a share therein. In all equity and good conscience the total of this increment of values should go unimpaired and unquestioned to the benefit of the institutions that created it. The market value of this ground would, in a very short while, equal the present value of Washington city property. And, for that matter, the time is not distant when the average value of ground in the great university city will be equal to the highest values of the most eligible residence locations in Washington at the present time.

Fifth. The United States Government should, and of course will, retain the ownership of the entire Arlington estate. The military post at Fort Myer will be maintained and the National Cemetery will never be desecrated by being applied to any use less sacred than that of retaining the ashes of the nation's heroic dead. That portion of the reservation which lies between the cemetery and the Potomac River, about half of the entire tract (equal to 1 square mile), should be converted into a great national garden and agricultural experiment station, the value of which to the agricultural interests of the country would be inestimable. Contiguous to and directly north of the military station, and in the immediate vicinity of the new court-house of Alexandria County, is a tract of ground that would furnish a magnificent

site for a residence for the President of the United States. This should be included in the Government's holdings, making about 2 square miles, or a little more, altogether. Another square mile, at the very least, should be dedicated to the proper uses of the university. The parks, avenues, streets, and the like should become the property of the city, and the building lots and all other ground should be held in trust for the joint benefit of the university and city, the income derived therefrom to be divided between the two in just proportions, to be determined by competent authority.

Undoubtedly the best results from a financial point of view would, in the long run, be secured through a system of leases. A consideration of great moment is that, by retaining the fee simple and granting leases for specific uses, for definite terms, and with explicit conditions, the university and city authorities would be able to maintain a more effective control over the sanitary and moral conditions within the direct environment of the university than would be possible under the ordinary system of land tenure—that is, under private ownership. Moreover, private ownership would not only injuriously affect the main scheme, but would defeat its own ends, as, according to tradition, it did on Capitol Hill, in Washington.

Sixth. Provision should be made for anticipating a part of the revenue to be derived from the lands so held in trust. Bonds should be authorized and the proceeds thereof expended on behalf of the city in making necessary surveys, in grading and paving streets, in constructing sewers, in erecting waterworks, in planting trees, and in providing other municipal necessities and conveniences; and on behalf of the university in erecting buildings, in furnishing laboratory apparatus, in the purchase of books, and in the immediate inauguration of university work on an extensive scale. These bonds should be issued with the guaranty of the National Treasury. The Government would run no risk whatever, and its guaranty upon the bonds would insure a ready sale at the most advantageous rates. The nation lent its credit in this manner to the Pacific railroads, commercial enterprises, pure and simple; and that action, though adversely criticised when taken, has been justified by the results. The university project commends itself to public favor because it is in very truth a public measure, not in any sense a private venture.

Seventh. The agencies and instrumentalities required for the inauguration of this great work and for the accomplishment of the great ends here sought should be provided by legislative action. A commission embracing in its membership men eminent in civic science, in mechanical and sanitary engineering, in landscape gardening, in architecture, and in business affairs should be intrusted with the duty of preparing and reporting a plan or plans for laying out, founding, organizing, and governing a city such as would best subserve the purposes of a home and seat for our great university. Another commission composed of men eminent for ripe scholarship, for practical experience as educators, for expert knowledge of modern university methods and control, and for stalwart Americanism should be charged with the preparation of plans for the organization and management of the most magnificent educational establishment ever founded on earth.

It would be presumptuous in a layman to offer suggestions relative to matters of university organization and management. Such matters may be safely left in the hands of members of the educational profession. It may not be amiss, however, to here restate the general principle which ought to be incorporated into the methods of our great university.

Comprehensiveness or breadth ought to be the rule everywhere and the most conspicuous feature of the institution in all its phases. It must be, in very truth, national in its character; it must be the people's university. It must be so conducted that the whole people will be benefited. There must be nothing in it or about it smacking of exclusiveness. It must be wide open on all sides and it must be many-sided. All the various effective methods of performing legitimate educational work must be employed.

Thus the vast benefits flowing from our great central institution of learning will be carried directly to the very homes and hearthstones of our people. And not to our people only, but to the wide world also. We could not, if we would, keep all the good to ourselves. We would not, if we could, keep our angels at home. They must go forth to carry light and hope to humanity everywhere, but when they go out it will be in order "that archangels may come in."

If it be even approximately, or in any sense, true that "an institution is the lengthened shadow of one man;" that "all history resolves itself very easily into the biography of a few stout and earnest persons," then it is easy to pick out the names that stand forth most prominently as representing the principles upon which this nation was founded and upon which our great university must be established. There are two names so woven into the history, not only of this Republic but into the entire history of human efforts to achieve independence, that every lip is ready at all times to pronounce them. Wheresoever upon the face of this globe men dare to speak of liberty; wheresoever they venture to breathe, even in whispers, the aspirations of their souls for a life free from the exactions of the oppressor, there those two names are spoken with profoundest reverence. Those names, associated together, convey a deeper and grander significance to the human race than any other two names in history. The most appropriate name for our capital city, the political metropolis of the nation he founded, was the name of Washington. The most appropriate name for our beautiful university city, the educational metropolis of the nation he made permanent and everlasting, will be the name of Lincoln. And the most appropriate, significant, impressive title that can be chosen for our great institution of learning is this:

THE UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON AND LINCOLN,

Or this:

WASHINGTON AND LINCOLN MEMORIAL UNIVERSITY.

The title "National University" has been adopted by a private establishment, and the name "American University" has been appropriated by a sectarian institution. It has been suggested that the great university to be established and maintained under national auspices might properly be called "The University of the United States." There is great similarity in these several titles, and there is a possibility of confusion in the minds of persons who have not carefully noted the distinctions. The last-mentioned title would be well enough perhaps were it not that the others, almost identical with it in meaning, have already been applied to existing or projected institutions.

But there is another aspect of the question of name or title which ought to be carefully considered. It is this: The history of the United States has not all been written; it has not all been made. We all earn-

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estly hope that the future history of this nation will be more glorious than its past history. This is, however, only a hope. The life of Washington and the life of Lincoln have been written in full, and the future contains no possible blot upon their names. There may come a time when designing men or unfriendly nations may bring disgrace or dishonor upon the name of the Republic of the United States. We hope that day may never come. We know that the names of Washington and Lincoln are forever safe from opprobrium of any kind. The future has for these names only increasing luster and greater glory.

The foregoing thoughts are respectfully submitted in the hope that, notwithstanding the infelicity of their expression, they may be found worthy of consideration.

W. C. PENNWITT.

GLENCARLYN, VA., *February 22, 1899.*

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